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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a comprehensive review of research literature in the area of interracial awareness development in preschool children and highlights key issues for future research. An historical look at the study of racial attitudes reveals three major research techniques. The first type utilizes pictures, line drawings, or actual photos. The chief drawback of this technique is that it relies heavily on the child's linguistic ability and does not allow the use of unstructured play. A second technique involves the use of puzzles, doll assembly, or picture insets. This method is suitable for measuring racial awareness but not attitudes. A third technique involves doll-play and seems to offer the most promise for future investigators of racial awareness attitudes in young children. The independent variables shown to be significant which must be considered for future studies are age, race, sex, social class, shade of skin color, contact, region of the country, and race of the interviewer. (MS)

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Toward the Development of a Technique to Measure the Racial Awareness-Attitudes of Three- to Five-Year-Old Children

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Toward the end of developing a research program at the Demonstration and Research Center for Early Education (DARCEE) concerned with interracial awareness-attitude development in preschool children, the present paper presents a comprehensive review of the literature in the area and attempts to highlight key issues for future research. Another paper by the authors (Scanlan & Dokecki, 1972) describes the beginnings of the DARCEE research program.

Review of the Literature

The history of the study of racial attitudes in young children reveals a gradual progression in the refinement of measurement techniques and the specification of relevant dependent and independent variables. Only recently has that progress reached a point where an attempt to obtain an overall picture of racial attitudes in young children become feasible. Judith Porter's study, Black Child, White Child (1971), is the most comprehensive such attempt to date and could mark a turning point in this field of study much as did the work of the Clarks (1939a, 1939b, 1940, 1947, 1950) and Goodman (1952) over two decades ago. Porter has developed a measurement technique that improves on previous ones and incorporates many of the dependent and independent variables that have been

found to be operating in the development of racial attitudes in young children.

This recent breakthrough comes in an area of research that has been plagued by the lack of a consistent conceptual model and problems in experimental design. Lasker (1929) was the first serious investigator to deal with the question of the age at which race awareness occurs. His data were anecdotal and his findings inconclusive, but they gave impetus to the more rigorous studies that followed in the 1930's and 1940's.

One of the first empirical studies of nursery school children was done by R. Horowitz (1939). She took her lead from the work of E.L. Horowitz (1936), with whom she collaborated in part (Horowitz & Horowitz, 1938) and who found evidence of racial prejudice in his youngest subjects, five-year-olds. On the premise that the beginnings of race-consciousness are a function of ego development and that in the nursery school years children's ideas about themselves are in the beginning phases of development, she included subjects in the age range 2 years, 3 months to 5 years, 1 month. From the ability of these children in general to identify with line drawings of children of their own race and from the children's spontaneous verbalizations, she concluded that there was racial awareness in nursery school age children. But her small sample size of 24 allowed for only tentative conclusions and speculation about why black children tended to identify with white portraits in one of the tests. She postulated that wishful thinking was involved in the choices of these black children.

Clark and Clark (1939a, 1939b, 1940, 1947, 1950), in a series of studies of three-, four-, and five-year-old black children, used a modified version of Horowitz's line drawings of children and added their own doll-play and coloring techniques. One of

the most significant advances of these studies was the beginnings of a distinction between racial awareness and racial attitude. Horowitz (1939) and the early Clark and Clark studies (1939a, 1939b, 1940) were trying to measure awareness on the basis of the child's ability to classify himself correctly as to race. In the results of the doll-play study, Clark and Clark (1947) found that racial self-identification was a poor measure of awareness for black children. In that study they asked the children to identify the "white," "colored," and "Negro" doll, and the results were 94%, 93%, and 72% correct identification respectively. In contrast, to the question of which doll looks like you, 66% identified with the black doll and 33% with the white doll. They thus concluded that knowledge of racial differences does not determine knowledge of own racial identity. However, in these early papers, the Clarks were unwilling to accept a wish-fulfillment mechanism operating here for the black children as Horowitz (1939) suggested. More recently, Clark (1963) has adopted the wish-fulfillment hypothesis.

In their doll-play study, Clark and Clark (1947) also initiated the investigation of the racial attitudes of nursery school children stated in terms of preference. They asked children to choose between two dolls differing in race on the basis of which doll they would like to play with, which was the nice doll, which looked bad, and which was a nice color. The results showed that by age four many black children showed clear preference for white dolls and rejection of the brown doll. This preference decreased gradually from five to seven years.

Other variables introduced into the Clark and Clark studies were shade of skin color (light, medium, dark), region of the country (North and South), and contact

(segregated and integrated). However, these variables were not controlled in the studies. Thus the resulting data are difficult to interpret. For example, the children in the North were all from integrated schools and those in the South from segregated schools. The majority of the light children fall in the former group while the majority of the dark children fall in the latter group.

This work by the Clarks was the first body of research contributing substantial evidence to the existence of both awareness of racial differences and attitudes about those differences among black children as young as four years of age. It initiated a clarification of the distinction between racial awareness and racial attitude; it indicated a racial preference for white by black children, a finding which has been supported in further studies up to this day; and it gave impetus to the study of other variables that affect racial awareness-attitude.

The most important variable that needed clarification was that of race. Does racial awareness-attitude occur as early for white children as for black children? Helgerson (1943) gave preliminary though unsubstantial evidence that racial awareness-attitude occurred in white preschool children. But it was not until Goodman's (1952) study that this was confirmed. Goodman studied black and white four-year-old children and was able to divide her sample into low, medium, and high awareness groups. She did extensive individual case studies of each of her 103 subjects, using a variety of methods. She was interested not only in the existence of awareness-attitude but also in its nature,

development, and personal and social contexts. She substantiated the existence among these children of incipient attitudes towards themselves and others based on color. The preference of white over black was clearly established for children of both races.

Much of Goodman's work was based on qualitative data--interviews with parents and children, spontaneous and elicited verbalization about race, and observation of behavior. In her interviews with children she used quantitative measures such as doll choice and puzzle construction, but she did not report on how these data were analyzed. It is her skillful combination and interpretation of these various kinds of qualitative information that makes her work a landmark in the field. With the fact of awareness-attitude among children as young as four years of age now fully established, other investigators felt more confident about investigating that awareness-attitude in more detail. During the past two decades, since Goodman's work, studies of racial awareness-attitude in young children have concentrated upon its individual aspects, determinants, or effects.

Trager, Radke, and Davis (1949) and Trager and Radke (1950) studied both children's perceptions of the social roles pertaining to race differences and also the attitudes connected with those perceptions. In the first study (Trager et al., 1949), 250 black and white children, ages five to eight, were studied. A series of sketches of groups of children in differing social situations were used as stimuli. The data included the subject's own story about the picture and responses to open-ended questions. The

results showed the greatest percentage of expressions of acceptance and rejection of children in the pictures to be on a racial basis. The authors concluded from their data that the cultural context and attitudes with respect to racial groups are learned at least as early as age five and that they reflect the particular context (sub-culture) in which the child lives. They also stated that the subjects' verbalizations give indirect support to a hypothesis that the child accepts adult attitudes toward groups.

The second study (Trager & Radke, 1950) helped bring the previous results into even sharper focus. The same subjects were used but the technique was different. Plywood formboards with the figure of a man or a woman (brown or white) were used as stimuli. After some questions pertaining to the differences in clothes and to racial differences, the subjects were asked to choose from a variety of costumes and houses representing various social roles, and assign them to the figures. The data, both quantitative and qualitative, were somewhat inconclusive as to the subjects' awareness of social inequalities based on racial difference. What did show up clearly in the data was a preference for the white figures and hostility toward black figures by subjects of both races. The authors concluded that the existence of negative feelings toward Blacks makes it difficult to determine whether assignment of disadvantaged roles to black figures comes from those feelings or from a perception of social reality. Other studies reflecting the strength of the affective aspect of these feelings, even at age four, suggest that affect probably precedes the recognition of social reality.

Ammons (1950), interested in how intergroup tensions develop, used a projective doll-play interview to study white males, ages two to six. The technique was an expansion of both the Clark and Clark (1947) and the Goodman (1952) use of dolls. In the Clark and Clark study doll choices were made by subjects outside of any social context. Goodman described social situations verbally, and the subjects made doll choices in the context of those situations. Ammons used a miniature playground set in which he placed the two dolls (black and white) from which the subjects chose in response to direct questions. Both the quantitative responses to questions and the qualitative verbal material were included in the interpretation of the results. In terms of awareness of race differences, two of the ten two-year-olds, five of the ten three-year-olds, eight of the ten four-year-olds, and all of the ten five-year-olds identified skin color as a difference. This finding supports the hypothesis of an age progression in awareness.

With regard to attitude, there seemed to be a significant change that occurs between the ages of three and four. In a situation where blame was to be placed on one of the dolls by an adult, the four- and five-year-olds showed significantly greater blaming of the black doll than did the two-and three-year-olds. However, in situations where direct aggression by one doll was to be responded to by the other, almost exactly the same amount of aggression was expressed toward the white doll as toward the black doll by subjects across all age levels. Ammons concluded: "It would seem that aggression can be freely answered by aggression in this group, regardless of skin color, but that when blame is to be placed for something, there is a tendency to scapegoat on a racial

basis (p. 332)." This difference suggests the utility of research in the area of the antecedents and development of racial awareness-attitude.

Landreth and Johnson (1953) studied black and white five-year-olds to explore the significance of family economic and social circumstances on young children's responses to persons of different skin colors. Using pictures in which the combination of figures could be manipulated by the subject according to race, they concluded from their results that skin color becomes important for black children earlier than for white children. At three years of age, black children indicated a preference for white and a rejection of dark skin colors. For white children the conclusion on the basis of the data was that color becomes salient on a more gradual basis and that what they learn about skin color appears to be related to their parents' occupation, education, intelligence, and residential neighborhood. They further concluded that young children of parents engaged in professions perceived skin color in cognitive terms, while children of parents engaged in semi-skilled occupations perceive it in affective terms.

Stevenson and Stewart (1958), in a study of three- to seven-year-old black and white children, used a variety of methods to tap racial awareness-attitudes. They used a picture discrimination test and a doll assembly test to measure awareness. They used doll choice responses to questions of racial self-identification and racial preference and a more projective story completion technique to measure the attitudes. Their findings support previous studies. The responses of the three-year-olds were on a chance basis whereas "by ages four, five, and six the subjects were responding in a manner which indicated not only awareness of racial differences but also the use of stereotyped roles (p. 408)."

Stevenson and Stevenson (1960) reaffirmed the existence of at least some amount of race awareness among children younger than four. Using an observational method, they studied the behavior of black and white two-and-one-half to three-and-one-half-year-olds in the nursery school setting. They also interviewed the mothers. From the quantitative observational data, there were no significant findings with regard to race and the authors were led to conclude that under neutral conditions children of this age do not react to each other primarily in terms of differences in racial characteristics. Some of the more informal observational data, combined with the interviews with the mothers, however, brought to light many examples of awareness of the physical differences relating to race. The proportion of those children showing awareness was lower than had been found in Goodman's four-year-olds, but it gives evidence that there is at least a beginning of awareness in some children as early as two-and-one-half. There seems to be much less affect connected with the awareness at this age than has been found among four-year-olds by Clark and Clark (1947), Goodman (1952), Ammons (1950), Stevenson and Stewart (1958).

Morland (1958, 1962, 1963, 1966) did a comprehensive study of three-, four-, and five-year-old black and white children in a southern segregated town. He examined their racial recognition (awareness), their racial acceptance and preference (attitudes), and their racial self-identification. Then he compared these children to children in a northern city on the same measures. His stimuli were 8" x 10" black and white pictures depicting situations with varying numbers of people who also varied in race and age.

With regard to racial recognition, measured by asking the children if they saw a white, then a black, person in the picture, Morland found a progression with age in awareness with the most rapid spurt occurring between the third and fourth year. The southern white children exhibited greater awareness than either the black children or the northern white children.

In his study of racial attitudes, Morland made an important distinction between preference and acceptance. He said that forced choice between the two races measures preference and that past studies had equated preference of one race with rejection of the other. His findings with regard to preference supported past studies--that the majority of both black and white children prefer to play with the white children when given a choice. However, when a child was asked whether he would like to play with children of a specific race, without being given a choice, there was a very low percentage of either outright rejection or even nonacceptance. Morland thus concluded that preference for one race does not imply rejection of another. It might also suggest, however, that children are simply reluctant to express rejection so directly. Other studies, especially of children's verbalizations, have found rejection to be an aspect of children's attitudes as early as age four (Clark & Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Porter, 1971).

Asher and Allen (1969) partially replicated and extended the Clark and Clark (1947) doll study. Previously neglected social class, sex, and race variables as well as age were investigated. Puppets instead of dolls were used, but the questions forcing a choice between two racially different puppets were approximately the same as those used

by the Clarks. In general, the findings were consistent with those of the Clark and Clark study, with the majority of the black children preferring the white puppet. There was some evidence for an increase of white color preference among black children, but it was not statistically significant. Social class differences did not correlate significantly with differences in puppet preference for either the black or the white children. Boys of both races showed greater preference for white than did the girls. With regard to age, black children showed a significant increase in white preference from ages three-four to ages five-six and then a significant decrease in white preference from ages five-six to ages seven-eight. White children exhibited a continued increase in white preference across age. Both of these results were consistent with previous findings. Asher and Allen further concluded that these findings are more consistent with a social comparison model than an individual competence model. "Social class data for Negro children and the historical comparison with Clarks' results suggest that enhanced status will not necessarily lead to greater racial pride, but may instead contribute, through more frequent comparison with whites, to increased feelings of inferiority (p. 163)." There conclusion should be considered with caution, however, since the Clark and Clark methodology would seem, in view of studies since that time, to be overly simple for the assessment of race awareness-attitudes.

The procedures described thus far for measuring racial awareness-attitude follow a projective technique which Campbell (1950) characterized as "non-disguised non-structured" designs for the direct assessment of attitudes. Another line of research

in the measurement of racial attitudes has arisen in the last decade. It utilizes the kind of measures that Campbell (1950) identified as "disguised-structured" measures and which are characterized by a task situation similar to that of an objective test in which the respondents' attention is focused on a goal oblique to the experimenter's purpose. Campbell's distinction between the two lines of research seems questionable since both techniques involve a projection of feeling to some extent. What seems to set this second line of research apart from other studies is its emphasis on the perceptual component of children's race awareness.

The two most significant series of studies in this line of research are the studies by Stabler and his colleagues (Stabler, Spruill, & Eakin, 1967; Stabler, Johnson, Berke, & Baker, 1969; Stabler & Johnson, 1971) and those by Williams and his colleagues (McMurtry & Williams, 1972; Renninger & Williams, 1966; Williams, 1966; Williams & Roberson, 1967; Williams & Edwards, 1969). These studies have primarily involved determining whether there is a functional link between attitudes toward the colors white and black and racial attitudes. The general findings from this line of research is that the children of both races prefer the color white over black. In this they support the findings of more projective techniques. The usefulness of this approach, however, is limited by two factors. First of all their structured nature limits the extent to which the affective components of racial attitudes can be examined. Secondly, in placing an emphasis on the perceptual elements of race prejudice, they are limited in the extent to which they can explore the social causes and consequences of those attitudes.

Porter (1971) followed in the tradition of the more projective techniques that have been reviewed to this point. In a study of 359 black and white three-, four-, and five-year-olds, she examined the interactions of the variables that have been shown to affect racial awareness-attitudes in young children. Porter modeled her measuring technique after the "Movie-Story Game" of Evans, Chein, and Hogrefe (1947). It is a further development of the application of doll play as a method of studying racial attitudes. Just as Ammons (1950) had expanded the use of the technique as used by Clark and Clark (1947) and Goodman (1952), Porter improved on the technique by adapting it to increase the opportunities to obtain qualitative verbal material from the subjects and by varying the questions to include the various aspects of awareness-attitudes.

Porter's "TV-Story Game" technique utilizes dolls and miniature stage sets. With the help of these materials, a story is told which includes opportunities for the subject to make doll choices on the basis of race. There is also an opportunity for the subject to make up his own story using the same materials.

Porter broke down the dependent variable of racial awareness-attitude into the various elements that had been investigated up to that time. Awareness was divided into three dimensions. The knowledge of racial names (color terms index) was an index of awareness used by Clark and Clark (1947), Ammons (1950), and Morland (1958, 1966). The ability to pair families by color (color match index) was used by Goodman (1952). Both of these indices Porter considered to measure the cognitive components of racial awareness. To them she added a third dimension (color salience index) which she called the affective dimension. The subject could match dolls by color, dress, or sex and thus

reveal the hierarchy of relevance of these factors for him personally. The correlational analysis of these three indices showed them to be independent of one another.

To measure attitude, Porter utilized most of the indices of previous studies. She listed them as representing three aspects of attitude: stereotype, preference, and social distance. These coincide with the cognitive, affective, and connative components of prejudice delineated by Harding et al. (1969). Porter used two items for each aspect and found that all six items correlated well enough with one another to justify the construction of an overall attitude index. This, in turn, led her to conclude that stereotype, social distance and affectual dimensions of attitude were not differentiated from each other in this age group.

Porter's clear distinction between items measuring awareness and those measuring attitudes enabled her to give strong support to what had been inferred from previous studies: that preference for white by black and white children is indicative of actual racial attitudes. Black children exhibited less preference for black dolls than white children did for white dolls, and this difference was interpreted to be due to negative attitudes toward blacks for children of both races. The variables of age and race also showed that for four- and five-year-olds of both races and for three-year-old blacks white preference has some connotation. The choices of the white three-year-old group, however, did not indicate racial evaluations.

With regard to social class, Porter concluded that it is a key factor affecting the development of racial attitudes. All white children exhibited high white preference, with working-class and lower-class children internalizing slightly more negative attitudes toward blacks than did their middle-class counterparts. This trend was reversed for

black children, with those of the middle class being less accepting of their race than are those in the working class. The lower-class Blacks (ADC group) tended to be more like middle-class Blacks in rejection of their own race than the working class.

Contact and sex were significant variables affecting the racial attitudes of white children. In a desegregated setting, racial awareness was sharpened and any newly learned cultural evaluations seemed to be mediated by sex-role expectations: white girls showed slightly greater white doll preference in desegregated than in segregated situations, but for boys this preference was reversed. From this and the social class data, Porter concluded that "for whites the most consistent own-race doll preference exists for those groups where whiteness is an especially valued or important concomitant of a role definition and where it reinforces the major goals of the group [p. 106]."

For the black children there was a relationship between the variables of shade of skin color and contact. Light-skinned children showed more white preference in a desegregated than in a segregated environment, but for dark-skinned children this choice pattern was reversed. Porter concluded: "Thus, it is those groups of black children in marginal social situations, such as the middle-class children and the light-skinned children in desegregated schools, who exhibit particularly high rates of rejection of their own group [p. 107]."

From a comparison of her index of racial identification with her other indices, Porter concluded that it is an index of group identity for preschool children. Attitudes and self-identification were highly related, although the two measures were not

completely congruent. "It is clear that many black children have low esteem for themselves on a racial basis; white children are positively attracted to the favored status[p. 138]." Thus Porter confirmed the findings of past studies that correctness of self-identification should never be used as a measure of racial awareness alone. The interplay of racial awareness and racial attitudes, especially self-esteem, is an area in need of further research.

Future Research Orientations

A. Method:

The history of the study of racial awareness-attitudes in young children presents the investigator in this area with a vast array of possibilities from which to choose. With regard to technique, there are three major types. The first type utilizes pictures, line drawings or actual photos (Horowitz, 1939; Clark & Clark, 1939a, 1939b, 1940; Helgerson, 1943; Trager & Radke, 1950; Morland, 1958, 1962, 1963, 1966; Williams et al., 1966, 1967, 1969, 1973). The chief drawback to this technique is that it relies heavily on the child's linguistic ability and does not allow the use of unstructured play. It is also difficult to hold the preschool child's attention for an extended period of time with such stimuli.

A second type of technique involves the use of puzzles, doll assembly, or picture insets (Goodman, 1952; Trager & Radke, 1950; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958). These techniques seem suitable for measuring racial

awareness but not racial attitudes. Also there is the danger that the ability to solve puzzles may reflect differences in intelligence rather than differences in racial awareness per se.

The third type of technique involves the use of doll play. It seems to offer the most promise for the future investigation of racial awareness-attitudes in young children. The gradual progress in the sophistication of this technique has been cited above (Ammons, 1950; Clark & Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Porter, 1971). There are several advantages of the doll-play technique which suggest it as the most accurate measure of awareness-attitudes. First of all, it has been found to hold the interest of very young children for a considerable length of time. This is important if one is to probe the various aspects of awareness and attitude. Secondly, it allows for the use of both structured questions, involving doll choice, and unstructured material, such as free play and open-ended questions. The unstructured expressions of the subjects has been found to be invaluable in interpreting the data of the structured portions of a measure. Finally, the use of dolls seems to offer a desirable combination of projective and direct approaches to the measurement of children's attitudes. Through identification with one of the dolls, the child becomes a part of the doll play, voicing his own thoughts and attitudes. This is a less threatening measure than a question put directly to the child and yet has been found to involve the child affectively as well as cognitively (Ammons, 1950; Goodman, 1952; Porter, 1971).

B. The Variables:

With regard to the dependent variables to be considered in a study of racial awareness-attitudes, Porter (1971) has put them together in a meaningful combination.

Her three indices of awareness distinguish cognitive and affective components. Although her six attitude items correlated highly enough to indicate that there is no differentiation in children this age between the stereotype, social distance, and affect dimensions of racial attitude, clarification and confirmation of this is needed. Thus, it would be wise for future studies to retain these distinctions in measurement. The measuring of self-identification as a dependent variable also needs further clarification. Porter's data indicate that it is a combination of both awareness of own racial identity and attitude toward that identity. It clearly cannot be used as a measure of either one or the other exclusively.

The independent variables that have been found to affect awareness-attitude in young children are many. Those that have been shown to be significant and which must be considered in future studies will be mentioned here along with the studies that have included them.

Age has been the most extensively considered variable (Ammons, 1950; Asher & Allen, 1969; Clark & Clark, 1939a, 1939b, 1940, 1947, 1950; Helgerson, 1943; Horowitz, 1939; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Morland, 1958, 1962, 1963, 1966; Porter, 1971; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Trager & Radke, 1950).

Race as a variable answers the question of how black and white children differ in racial awareness-attitudes (Asher & Allen, 1969; Helgerson, 1943; Horowitz, 1939; Goodman, 1952; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Morland, 1958, 1962, 1963, 1966; Porter, 1971; Stevenson & Stevenson, 1960; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Trager & Radke, 1950).

Sex, or the difference between males and females on awareness-attitudes, has also been studied (Asher & Allen, 1969; Clark & Clark, 1939a, 1939b, 1940, 1947, 1950; Horowitz, 1939; Goodman, 1952; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Morland, 1950, 1962, 1963, 1966; Porter, 1971).

Social class variations in awareness-attitudes has been studied with varying degrees of precision (Asher & Allen, 1969; Goodman, 1952; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Morland, 1958, 1962, 1963; Porter, 1971).

Shade of skin color of black children as affecting their awareness-attitudes has been considered by three investigators (Clark & Clark, 1940, 1947, 1950; Greenwald & Oppenheim, 1968; Porter, 1971).

Contact as a variable refers to the amount of exposure a child has had to members of the other race. It is generally defined on the basis of the child's attendance at a racially integrated or segregated school (Clark & Clark, 1939b, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Morland, 1958, 1962, 1963, 1966; Porter, 1971).

Region of the country as a variable has been investigated by only two researchers (Clark & Clark, 1939b, 1947, 1950; Morland, 1966).

Race of the interviewer as affecting the child's expression of racial awareness-attitudes has been considered in several studies. Usually the race of the interviewer is matched with the race of the subject (Asher & Allen, 1969; Landreth & Johnson, 1953; Morland, 1962, 1963, 1966; Porter, 1971; Stevenson & Stewart, 1958; Trager & Radke, 1950.)

In conclusion, past research in the racial awareness-attitudes of preschool children gives some clear indications as to what are the various components of that awareness-attitude, how they might best be measured, and the conditions under which those awareness-attitudes vary. It suggests a doll-play technique which would measure awareness, attitude, and self-identification while also taking into account unstructured verbalizations and free play. The independent variables that need to be taken into consideration are: race, age, sex, social class, shade of skin color (for black children), amount of contact, region of the country, and race of interviewer. Research along these lines is described in another paper by the authors (Scanlan & Dokecki, 1972).

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Developmental Landmarks (continued)

	Date First Seen	Dates Seen Consistently (at least two times)
Language		
Coos and babbles		
Makes several different sounds		
Vocalizes in response to caregiver's voice		
Responds to own name		
Turns to things or persons when they are named		
Says word (other than mama, dada)		
Social		
Definite social smile		
Shows interest in other babies		
Reacts differently to familiar and strange people		